1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

622 292 ningly wrapped and woven, surmounted by a small tuft of curly black hair. It appears that on Nuku Hiva the *pa'e ku'a*, an oblong frontlet about fifteen inches long and nine inches broad, made of fine red and green feathers, was the headdress particularly of chiefs and chiefesses. [304] On Ua Pou and Fatu Hiva, Mrs. Handy found that one small tattoo design on the ankle was the mark of the chiefly class and was restricted to them. A conch shell belonged to the chief and served him in summoning his workers and warriors.

Family alliances

622 582 On Hiva Oa the marriage of a chief with a representative of another chiefly stock was for social and political reasons considered the most favorable. Formal betrothal and marriage were always with equals; but a chief or chiefess was allowed to marry a commoner if he or she desired to do so, and the children of such a marriage were regarded as equal in [428] rank with the chiefly father or mother, as the case might be, inheriting property and rights as though of full chiefly blood. On the other hand, on both Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva a chief was never allowed to marry out of the *papa haka-iki* or *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. In Haka he Tau on Ua Pou it was said that the first son or daughter of the chief of a tribe in that valley always married some one of another chiefly family in the same valley and, inheriting the rights of the father or mother, became in time the head of the tribe. For the younger children suitable mates were found among the children of chiefly families of other valleys. Garcia (pp. 102-103), describing the Nuku Hiva convention, says:

> It is necessary that the one chosen should be also of the royal race, for it is not permitted to great chiefs to make a misalliance. An example of what I speak of was that of the queen Paetini who received us in the first place at the bay of Taiohae and Hakapehi. . . . She was the sole inheritor of numerous districts and she had as her principal spouse the chief or king of the Oumis, distant some miles, who came to see her only for two or three months; but about her were habitually two or three other lesser chiefs, who were likewise called her spouses.

622 582 171 A striking contrast between the marriage customs of chiefs in the Marquesas and those on Tahiti and in Hawaii is furnished by the fact that children of chiefly stock who married persons of common birth were regarded in the Marquesas as legitimate and were not outcasts as in Hawaii, nor killed at birth as in Tahiti. It may be truly said that there was no [847 848] such thing as illegitimacy and there was no infanticide. Another contrast with Hawaii is found in the fact that the *tapu* on the marriage of brothers and sisters applied as definitely and strictly in chiefly families as in others. There were no such close, consanguineous marriages as those of Hawaii to preserve the purity of chiefly blood.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

ity, but socially the child outranked his father from the moment of birth.

The household consisted of the main husband, the wife or wives, and a series of subsidiary husbands. Even with plural wives the men in a household far outnumbered the women. The numerical disparity of the sexes on these islands was puzzling. The Marquesans swore that they did not practice infanticide, yet the ratio of males to females was about two and a half males to one female. It is probable that they did away with the younger girls but kept the practice from cultural notice. The motive for this is hard to ascertain, but it is reasonable to suppose that the group were merely breeding up to their food resources. In good seasons they had more food than population, the surplus being used to fatten pigs; but for bad seasons, when food was scarce, it was necessary to keep the population down by limiting the number of child-bearing women.

The average household consisted then of a household head, a group of other men, and a single wife. The second husband outranked the other subsidiary husbands and took charge of the household in the absence of the head. He also exercised preferential sexual rights with the wife, either with the first husband's permission or during his absence. In the chief's establishment all the husbands would have certain sexual rights with the chief's wife, but when there were a good many husbands, they lived in another house and were called over at the will of either the chief or the wife and rewarded for good service by a night's pleasures. In theory, all members of the household had sexual rights; even servants had access to the head wife if she so wished; actually, the first husband ran things and distributed favors, although it was to his advantage to see that his underlings were sexually satisfied, so that they would work for his house and not wander off with other women.

The household also included the children of the women, either real or adopted, and old people. The Marquesans were perfectly familiar with all the phenomena of physical paternity,

/7 cont./ 841
in the Marquesas several decades ago. Therefore, it is 842
doubtful whether this is an aboriginal concept. [799]

During pregnancy, woman's work continues as usual, with 843
relatively little relief until advanced stages have been reached.
In the Marquesas, /8/ many heavy household chores fall to [462]
the women, such as hauling firewood, sacks of breadfruits,
lifting and weighing copra, etc. With tasks of this nature,
it is not infrequent that spontaneous abortions (tama topa,
hanaua) occur. Should these occur early in pregnancy, it is
doubtful whether they would be recognized as such. During
a five-month residence in the valley of Hatiheu, my wife
was called upon to treat two young women who were con-
tinually manifesting symptoms of premature labor as a result
of their stubborn refusal to restrict their economic activites.
The main cause of their continued episodes (which finally
resulted in the loss of one of the fetuses) was lifting of heavy
burdens.

In producing spontaneous abortions, the taxing nature of [492]
the tasks which are viewed as "woman's work" is aided by
the major mode of transportation in the Marquesas -- horseback
riding. In one instance we were awakened at midnight to
treat a girl who had begun to have labor pains and a bloody
discharge in her home valley some 5 miles distant, and
had immediately mounted a horse and galloped to our door,
without any thought that the gallop might be injurious.

Native remedies are available for stopping spontaneous [757]
abortions, but their efficacy is doubtful. It is interesting to
note that the frequency of spontaneous abortions must have [776]
been marked in aboriginal times, as there was a proliferation
of gods and goddesses who had charge over abortions.

/9/ Abortions (ha'a topa ite tama) are seldom induced, 847●
as children are highly valued, a point which will be discussed [858]
at greater length below. No Marquesan female informants
admitted to inducing abortions, and no specific cases were
ever heard of from males. Abortifacients were commonly

/9 cont./
known, however, the most popular consisted of grated unripe pineapple. This had to be eaten for three days before the abortion would begin. During the period of labor and after, a hot stone or bottle full of hot water is placed on the stomach to ease the pain. It is stated that this medicinal preparation is only efficient during the first three months of gestation. No references to mechanically induced abortions were ever noted. 847 ● [824]

No rigid tapu surround the pregnant woman, although it is certain that such existed in the past, particularly in regard to food. A commonly kept custom at present is that of the avoidance of salty foods which are believed to cause mouth sores and "cradle cap" on infants (mate kea). 843

Cravings are common among Marquesan women during pregnancy. Particularly popular are shellfish varieties normally eaten as supplements to main diet items, such as chitons (mama) and patellas (titi). Other items often requested are lobsters (u'ua tai), shrimp (u'ua vai) and a delicacy made of putrid sting ray flesh (ha ha'ua). [262]

Intercourse does not cease during pregnancy until the last few weeks, if at all. Usually the husband becomes dissatisfied with the unwieldy stomach of his wife and attempts to find some gratification elsewhere. /10/ Some joking about intercourse during pregnancy occurs, with statements being made that one must indulge to "make the baby strong" or "to feed the baby." [522]

In labor (ha'a totohi i te tama) no efforts are made to ease the pains (tua toto). Women usually retire when pain begins, remaining secluded until delivery. At present, administrative edicts require the presence of all expectant mothers at the Taiohae dispensary 6 weeks prior to the estimated date of delivery. If the women follow these directives, they merely report to the hospital upon the first sign of pain. However, many prefer to bear the children at home, as the trip is often the cause of premature delivery, and the 6 week sojourn in Taiohae is only possible for those who possess relatively well-to-do relatives. 844 [656] [743]

/82 cont./

Source	Date	Total Population
Clavel	1882	4,865
Administration Census	1897	3,800

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Throughout this period of decline, the birth rate, of course, failed to even approach the death rate. According to an unsigned Ms in the archives of the French administration in Taiohae, dating from 1894, the death rate at this time had been 4 per 100 inhabitants while the birth rate was 1 per 725. During the years 1888 to 1893, considered by the author of the Ms, an annual loss of 148 inhabitants had been sustained. It was further pointed out that the actual birth rate was considerably lower than the figure of 1 per 725 as many infants died soon after birth, and the number of survivors was only about 1/4 of the actual births. Moreover, abortions were extremely frequent, especially in the first months of pregnancy, but no data could be obtained on the actual /83/ number because of lack of native cooperation in reporting information believed to be insignificant.

163 165 175 [847]

The native population declined in this fashion throughout the early 1920's reaching its nadir about 1925, when the entire archipelago had approximately 2,000 inhabitants.

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While the native population declined, contacts with Europeans and representatives of other races increased. These came from a variety of sources:

162 175 648

a. Sailors of all nationalities appeared in the Marquesas, especially as a result of the whaling industry and trade with the Far East. In 1803, Krusenstern found two white sailors already established in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. This is especially interesting in view of the fact that the island had only been discovered some 6 years previously by Ingraham of Boston. In 1813, Porter found additional white deserters as did Shillibeer, one year later. The thin stream of deserters swelled during the first decades of the nineteenth century, with the result that by 1838 when French missionaries arrived, sailors "on the beach" constituted a sizable and troublesome group in all the major valleys. Among the deserters, by that

/87 cont./
birth on the island of Ta huata (p. 138) receives no support whatsoever from the /88/ census data available to me. A death to birth ratio of such a dramatic nature has never been recorded for any island or valley in the archipelago since the epidemics of 1867. 114 165

There is, furthermore, no evidence of the remarkable disparity in the sex ratio (2.5 males: 1 female) (p. 155) which Linton reports. Throughout the entire period covered by records, the sex ratio remained relatively stable with a very slight edge being held by males over females. 114 162

Childbirth

Comparison of ethnographic accounts of childbirth (Handy 1923, pp. 71-80) with the modern data indicate the survival of a sizable amount of native customs surrounding this event. Pre and post-partum food tapus, seclusion of the female, delivery positions, the disposition of the afterbirth, and the recently extinct post-partum intercourse are all reported for the ethnographic period. The fa'e taina or birth house, used in the 1920's for predelivery seclusion, is no longer in use. 844 182 [343]

The belief in hanaua (fanaua - Hiva 'Oa dialect) -- evil spirits who attacked women causing them to die in childbirth or to be afflicted with symptoms similar to pregnancy and ultimately to die (Handy 1923, p. 254) -- is no longer found. Tokai, shrines to women who have died in childbirth and whose spirits might therefore become hanaua (Delmas 1927, p. 92) are no longer maintained or built. Gods of abortion and miscarriage -- Hanaua, Upeouoho, Pahuatuhee, Taua Te kahiaki, and Moiaika -- once played an extremely important role in the aboriginal /89/ religion, assuming the position of tribal or subtribal patron deities in some cases. Few modern Marquesans know of the existence of these deities at present, and those who do are no longer overly concerned with the possible malevolent influences that these supernatural beings could yield. [776] [753] [778] [776] [847]